For the National Era RIGHT OF SLAVE PROPERTY.

In the number of the National Era for Feb ruary 16th you did me the favor to insert a communication, with the same heading as the present. In that article, I endeavored to show that the abstract question of the right of human property, is the true, radical, underlying question which divides the advocates and opponents of slavery—the real issue between the great contacting parties in the Union at the present contending parties in the Union at the present day; and on the solution of which, depend the ultimate result of the unlimited extension or the total abolition or close restriction of or the total abolition or close restriction o slavery; and I expressed a desire that this question, so fundamentally important, should receive more devoted attention than it has done, and be more subjected to the ablest discussion

have seen no notice of this subject since. and, in consideration of its vast importance am anxious that it should not pass away disre question emphatically assert, on the one side, that slavery is clearly right, and, on the other, that it is clearly wrong, without any intimation respectively of the grounds of these opinions, there is reason to suspect that the radical basis of the question has not been thoroughly investi-gated on either side; and in defect of an abler and, which I regret, I deem it incumbent on me to enter the question myself; and trust that, from the same motives, you will give my remarks the same publicity.

marks the same publicity.

The most extreme opponents of slavery denounce it simply on the ground of instinctive judgment; to them, slavery is self-evidently wrong in itself, as robbery, theft, or murder, are wrong; but, as to the slaveholder, the retention of his slave property is as self evidently right and innocent as that of his other property. One of these elleged instincts evidently neutralizes. of these alleged instincts evidently neutralizes the other; and as the masses of people, in all countries, do not profess any such instinctive perceptions on one side or the other, butthoughtlessly adopt the prevailing sentiments of their

dismissed from the question as untenable.

Assuming that the authority for the acquis tion and possession of any property consists sufficiently in the absence of any reasons against it, the slaveholder asks the question Why have I not the same right to hold m black man or woman as property, as I have m horse, ox, or dog? You cannot show that have authority for any property, except the general consent of mankind that I should so hold it in their case; and have I not this con sent in regard to my slave?" If we admit that this general consent is the only ground for the right of property, the question is a fair one, and the answer is ready. The right of property, tained while that consent is given; if, then, a justification at all, it could only be so in past ages, when slavery was a prevalent practice; in most civilized countries, it is disclaimed and denounced. On this ground, the alleged right of slavery has ceased, and the still continued general consent to other property evinces a decisive distinction between such property and that claimed for slaves.

Rejecting, however, the doctrine of general consent, as full authority for any property, as natenable, the question still recurs, Why has not slave property the same authority as an other property, whatever that may be? To de termine this, we must go into the origin of al is, we must go into the origin of al property. I lay it down as an axiom, that the original right of property is in creation; and that therefore the Creator of the universe is the sole original proprietor of all the objects in that universe, animate as well as inanimate; and, consequently, that no created being can have any property in any such objects, unless it can be shown to be derived from him. Nov what is the intimation that the Creator gives to any being, of any of his granted rights? It is by so creating that being that he is subjected certain necessities or desires, by placing b fore him the objects adapted to gratify those desires, and by giving the power by which those ner, man unhesitatingly applies all the gifts of nature to his existence, use, or welfare, merely in view of his inclinations and his powers. From these intimations, he doubts not his authority from the Creator, any more than if this authority was written in letters of light on the

The perceiving and reasoning man finds the same authority for the subjection of such brutes which brutes cannot do for want of both desire and power; but the right thus acquired is always exclusive, and he learns that he cannot claim or exercise it in regard to any object thus previously and legitimately appropriated by another; he can claim nothing as a right which violates the right of another. A man has necessities or desires for many operations to which brutes are not competent; he finds in himself both mental and corporeal powers adapted to those operations; derives authority for property in those powers-that is, property in himself. But we have sai all property is exclusive; the right of property a man has in his own powers can be invaded by another man, and the alleged right of enslavement of man is thus overthrown. Another ground for the right of slavery as it exists in this country demands our notice. It is, that the kings in Africa have always been in the practice of putting to death their captives taken in war, and have deemed it quite right to do so; but the slave trader stepping in and offering to purchase, they enslave their captives for the purpose of sale, being a mitigation of the sentence of death—the right to kill giving, a fortiori, the right to enslave. This right is thus transferred to the slave trader, and perpetuated, through all the posterity, by generation, of the enslaved man. The force of this argument depends entirely on the supposed right to kill captives taken in war, which may be good in Africa; but can it be so now in any Christian land? Will any American slave-holder now assert that it is right to put to death a prisoner of war who is unarmed and unresist-ing? I presume not; but if the right to kill is given up, there is, on this ground, no basis left for the right to enslave. This course of ar-

gument must be abandoned.

In default of establishing the right of pro erty in man from nature or reason, recourse is had to the Scriptures of Divine revelation, which, of course, if explicit, will be admitted to be sufficient authority from the Creator. The arliest intimation of the right of property from this authority is found in Genesis, (chapter ix, 3,) where the grant of living animals for food, when the life is gone, is expressly made; and this right of destruction for that purpose must, a fortiori, include that of control for service or her purposes; but this is never understood as comprising a similar right over human beings, which, on the contrary, is as fully disallowed the succeeding verses, where the shedding human blood is expressly forbidden. But a slaveholder still points to various passages the Mosaic code, where slavery is authorized, devan esjoined, which is undeniable.

ad even esjoined, which is undeniable.

It is not necessary to enter the qu sed, or originating only in the policy of the either case, they were imperative authority the people of Israel, to whom they were en; but are they so to Christians of the hat no express or verbal divine law or revela-tion, credited as true, can be found for any peotion, credited as true, can be found for any peo-ple upon earth, except the Israelites, until the advent of Christ; and hence we infer that the code of the Old Testament was given to them, and for them, exclusively; and the question now occurs, was this code transferred, as au-thority, to the heathens embracing Christianity, whose descendants we are? I know that this is the opinion of many, but inconsistently. consistency of many, but inconsistency of con-sistency of the con-ingo, sacrifices, ceremonial observances, capital executions for inferior crimes, repudiated, both mount, and by St. e are not " under the grace." Every "conary ordinance" Chr. thas taken "out of the ay, nailing it to its cross." Authority for throat, killing her instantly; John Miller was throat, killing her instantly; John Miller was fatally stabbed in a street affray, and A. H. Bayard fell suddenly dead in the street.

On Sunday, a daughter of John Stratton, livery and the street of the street of the street. in the time of a rist and his Apostles, and they hid not repose it, they must be considered as ing on Montgomery turnpike, was burned to

not reproved? not, indeed, in direct terms, but the avowed purpose to "preach deliverance to "the captives," the injunction to "call no man master on earth," to "do unto others as we would they should do unto us," and other passages in conformity, all indicate a levelling doctrine of human equality, and individual responsibility to God, totally opposed to the absolute subjection of one human being to another as property for life. Again, the desire to hold as property for life. Again, the desire to hold men as property, to irresistible subjection and compelled service, unquestionably arises from avarice—the lust of gain and of accumulation; and there is no sentiment more frequently and more emphatically denounced by Christ. In con emning the root of the evil, he thus of course ondemns the evil itself, and cannot, in consist

ncy be said to sanction it. We have thus seen that the claim to the right of property in man, at least as it is urged in these States, cannot be substantiated, either instinctive intuition, by general consent, by divine intimations in nature or the necessities of condition, by the alleged rights of captors in war, by the departed authority of the Old Testament, or the silence of the New; and it believed that these are all the grounds which have ever been claimed for it. It is thus de-prived of all positive authority; and if, then, in face of those representations of the spirit of the Gospel, which are decidedly opposed to that claim, it should still be insisted that it is left a question of uncertainty or indifference, should be repudiated as wrong, from its invari-able and inevitable tendency to inhumanity, oppression, impoverishment, and demoraliza

For the National Era. SOUTHERN "TRAITORS" OF THE

OLDEN TIME. Although the readers of the Era may imag e (judging from the recent pro-slavery fanaticism of Governor Wise and his associates) that Virginia Governors were always of that character, I take pleasure in informing them that such has not always been the case, but that one, at least, was an abolitionist, and an officer of an abolition society.

Amongst the papers of the Abolition Conof the officers and members of the "Virginia Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slave-ry, and Relief of Free Negroes, and others unlawfully held in Bondage, and other Humane Purposes," for the year 1797. As Vice Presi dent, we find "Gen. James Wood, Governor of Virginia." As Vice President, he signs the credentials of the delegates, and the next year the address from the society is signed by him. This address opens thus: "The proceedings of the last Convention have been received, and most likely to carry into effect the objects therein recommended for promoting the righteous cause that hath been espoused by us; and we trust neither your nor our labors have been in vain. There appears to be an extensive field open in this State for labor, and the funds of the society are too small, and insufficient to accomplish in a proper manner the purposes of their institution." They further say: "We have been induced to submit your consideration, whether it would not be advisable, under such circumstances, to make some regulations whereby those societies which are composed of numerous members, and full handed, \* \* may have it in their power, in a regular manner, to help the weak, and contribute, in a more general and extensive degree, to the promotion of those important

Only think of it, a Virginia Governor apply ing to the Northern abolitionists for funds to carry on their work in Virginia. Is it not our day to root out the bones of this former Governor, and hang them up near Charlestown, as the bones of a traitor that aided in bringing about a state of things resulting in John Brown's raid ?

The address to the Convention ntions " combining the views and operations of the friends of emancipation throughout the United States." In this address they also speak of their scanty funds. The address of 1801, signed by "James Wood, President, opens thus: "It is a consolation to us, amidst the many dangers and difficulties with which we are surrounded, to observe that firm and pers ring disposition, manifested in the ad-dress of the last Convention to the different the great and benevolent objects which pave existence to our institutions og their " firm persuasion that it is a just and ghteous cause in which we have embarked and] are determined to continue their efforts so long as any good may result therefre they again ask assistance from their Northern friends; and I might here say that aid was granted. The address concludes thus: "Under a persuasion that the day is fast approaching wherein the light of freedom will be universally diffused through this land, we feel an ardent desire, to unite with you in every laudable effort to hasten its approach; and may that Being who rules the destinies of the universe, give us strength, courage, and wisdom, to perform those things only that shall appear just in his sight."

I think this makes out a clear case of "treabecomes the citizens of the "ancient Common-wealth" to have his character indicted, that his name may be handed down to posterity, branded with treason. But this treason did not die out with Governor Wood and his co-associates; for in 1828, the Virginia Convention for the

degradation; for in this case, we behold human nature stripped of every consoling prospect, and man put upon a par with the brute creathe designs of an over-ruling Providence, is not only evident in itself, but convicting to every rational and reflecting mind, we trust will be admitted by all who have any claims to virtue, morality, and religion. \* \* \* We believe morality, and religion. \* \* \* We believe there are many in this ancient domain, (Virthere are many in this ancient domain, (Virginia,) who would earnestly engage in the task of restoring the fallen and degraded sons of Africa to their long-lost freedom and happiness, were it not for the scoffings of those prejudiced and interested persons, whose avarice obscures the sunshine of reason and benevolence, and whose nicest sensibilities are checked by a mere shadow; the fear of losing their popularity.

abolition of slavery say, in their address of that year: "Never was there a subject which has

more manifest claims on our compassion, be-nevolence, and humanity, than that of African

larity.
"But, notwithstanding the impediments we are destined to meet, we hope to pursue the path of duty with a steady and determined step, till the cause in which we have engaged shall have

ripened into maturity,"

I will conclude this article by quoting from the communication from a Virginia society in 1826: "It is the wish of the members of these societies (in Virginia) that something effective should be done; but there has been no plan as yet devised, by which this great work (general emancipation) can speedily be brought to con-summation. \* \* It is certain that mething more must be done, or the object

will never be abtained."

They recommend "That it be enjoined on hem, (ministers,) as a duty they owe to God. to treat the subject of slavery as a crime that deserves his (God's) wrath." The third recommendation is as follows: "Let resolutions be passed by all anti-slavery societies, to vote for such candidates for office only as are friendly to emancipation; such a course would have a material effect on the politics of our country, particularly in slaveholding States."

And, lastly, it is recommended to appoint "a nissionary to travel into different parts of the inited States, deliver discourses, point out the vils and disadvantages of slavery, and to form and organize abolition societies.

These extracts prove the existence of "fa natical traitors" in the slave States in forme times, and there is reason to believe that there exists a sentiment equally as "fanatical" with many Southerners in our time, deterred, perhaps, in its expression, as stated in the address of 1828, by "the scotlings of the prejudiced," or from "fear of losing popularity."

A SERIES OF HORRORS .- Cincinnati, March -Last night, Patrick McHugh cut his wife's

to advertise in the Era.
ngill & Co., S. B. Niles, and Joy, Coe,

Mass.; Thomas Wheeler, Cincinnati, Ohio; L. T. Par Vount Union, Ohio; Joseph Hughes, Philadelphia, Pa.

WASHINGTON, D. C THURSDAY, MARCH 15, 1860.

be addressed to Mrs. M. L. BAILEY, National Era, Washington, D. C.

A CARD.

It is my painful duty to announce to friends and subscribers of the National Era that its publication must be suspended for the

Since the paper passed into my hands last May, I have faithfully expended upon it all the money received from subscribers, using no part thereof even for the support of my family. thereof even for the support of my family. From the kind and encouraging letters received from subscribers, I had hoped that there would be no great decrease in the list for at least one year. In this hope I have been disappointed. In the early part of the present session of Congress, I received assurances from my friends of aid, by which I hoped to carry on the paper until it could be transferred to other and abler hands. My expectations, through no lack however of generous effort on the part of my friends, have not been realized, and as the paper with its present subscription list does not support itself, it must go down unless its friends determine otherwise. I have endeavored to preserve the integrity of the paper, and have all in my agency to the support itself in the support itself in the paper, and have all in my agency to the support itself in the support itself in the support itself in the paper, and have all in my agency to the paper, and have all in my agency to the paper, and have all in my agency to the paper, and have all in my agency to the paper, and have all in my agency to the paper, and have all in my agency to the paper and have all in my agency to the paper and have all in my agency to the paper and have all in my agency to the paper and have all in my agency to the paper and have all in my agency to the paper and have all in my agency to the paper and have and thirty million of pounds to five and thirty million of pounds are used in the island p From the kind and encouraging letters received from subscribers, I had hoped that there would determine otherwise. I have endeavored to preserve the integrity of the paper, and have done all in my power to make it useful. No one can be more fully aware than I am of my unfitness for a task which has devolved upon me through no act or will of mine, but which I have accepted as a part of my duty to one whose labors and responsibilities I have always

I am not only willing, but most anxious. continue the paper until it can be permanently established. If the Republican party is to remain the same, there is no reason why the National Era should not continue to be what it has been for the last thirteen years, the rep

resentative of freedom at the national capital. I shall most cheerfully concur in whatever measures may be determined upon by antislavery Republicans to preserve the existence and promote the efficiency of the Era, but in the mean time it must be suspended. With the paper issued next week, the publication will cease until the first of May, at which time, if the necessary arrangements have been made, it will be resumed. Should all efforts for its continuation fail, it is my hope and purpose to fulfil my obligations to subscribers who have paid in advance, by supplying with some other Republican paper the numbers still due.

My only hope for the existence of the Era is in its old friends and patrons who have stood by it for so many years. It would seem strange, if, at the very opening of the campaign which we hope will result in the triumph of our principles, the paper which was first in the field, and always foremost in the fight, should fail for

May, I shall hold all the moneys paid by sub-MARGARET L. BAILEY.

PASSAGE OF THE HOMESTEAD BILL.

One of the most important and valuable of the United States, or who shall have filed his | quoted, says: intention to become such, shall be entitled to intention to become such, shall be entitled to enter free of cost 160 acres of the public lands upon which said person may have filed a preemption claim, or which may at the time the application is made be subject to pre-emption at \$1.25 or less per acre, or 80 acres at \$2.50 per acre. No certificate is to be given or patent issued until the expiration of five years from the date of the entry, and on the payment of \$10. The rights secured by the actual settler issue to the heirs and devisees. The lands thus acquired in no case to become liable to the satisfaction of any debts contracted prior to the issuing of the patent.

This measure, so important to the free labor ing class of the country, was adopted by a strictly sectional vote. We believe that nearly every Southern member present voted against it, and that every Northern member, of whatever shade of politics, except Mr. Montgomery of Pennsylvania, voted for it. The Northern Democrats did not dare go before their constituents with their names recorded against this eminently popular bill. The Southern members were, with one or two exceptions, equally constrained by their allegiance to slavery to vote against it. One or two of the Southern Opposition may have had objections to the bill, based on its donation of land to foreigners before naturalization; but the Southern Democracy were actuated solely by the consideration that free homesteads will tend to people the Western States and Territories with free white laborers who own no slaves. They have no scruple in voting the public lands, by millions of acres at a time, to railroad corporations, especially where they are interested in them; but they have a horror of giving lands to the people. Like the patricians of old Rome, they would reserve the public domain

KIDNAPPER CAUGHT .- From the Chester themselves of the excited feeling in the South ple of color, to perpetrate these outrages. It is next to impossible to secure the liberty of a belong, as their superiors in knowledge, yet colored man who is once decoyed or spirited without servility. across the line into slave territory. We are gratified to perceive that one of the villains, amed Hull, has been caught, and it may be

exclusively for their own class, and denounce

PRO-SLAVERY OUTRAGE. - Frederick Schaler, a German resident of Lagrange, Missouri, was, a few weeks ago, seized by a mob, on mere suspicion of aiding slaves to escape, and hanged until senseless, and then almost flayed alive by whipping. An American named Mattis met with similar treatment, and a brother of Schaller barely escaped. Schaller solemnly declares his innocence, and that he has always been a

The Republican State Convention of Missouri met at St. Louis on Saturday last. It appointed delegates to the Chicago Conven-

If the well-being of the black p to be segarded as the test of the success of emancipation in the British West Indies, the friends of that eminently just and beneficent easure have every reason to be gratified at its workings. There has been a decline in the exportation of the staples of the Island, but an mmense augmentation in the domestic consamption; and it is now believed that, while the export of coffee has dwindled from twentyfive millions before emancipation, to some six millions at the present time, the product of the article is nearly or quite as great as ever. The emancipated slaves not only cultivate but consume it, which they were not permitted to do while they were held in slavery. Exportation has diminished five-fold, but domestic consum of the New York Times, writing from Kin Jamaica, in January last, gives the following interesting account of the large and growing class of negroes who have become small proprietors, and ceased to hire themselves out the owners of the large estates. He says:

as among sugar-planters. Coffee, too, like cacao, requires new land, and the clearance of fifty acres of wood is a sort of Herculean enterprise that, in these days, a Jamaica planter would not willingly face. But, whatever large coffee planters were seen about this parties and coffee planters may say about their profits and losses, it is a notorious fact that thousands and thousands of settlers grow the delicious berry to advantage, as any merchant engaged in the trade will be able to testify. They come to the towns and villages, with one, two, six, or a dozen bags, and in this way many a cargo is made up for foreign ports. The population of St. Elizabeth parish numbers one hundred and nineteen persons to the square mile—consider-ably larger, it will be seen, than most of the sugar-growing parishes. But I know of no locality in Jamaica where labor for sugar cultivation is more needed than here. The set-tiers have their own properties to look after, and it would be surprising indeed if they neg-lected them, to hire themselves out as field laborers at a shilling a day."

A large portion of the population of Jamaics have become the proprietors of small farms, and are rapidly accumulating around them the ter attest the capacity of the negroes to take care of themselves than the rapid growth of class of planters. As the island becomes less valuable to England as a colony, and to the white proprietors as a plantation, it becomes more valuable to the black as a home. This is blacks there for their own selfish ends, but, under the guidance of Providence, the despised slave is destined to inherit the land.

In Jamaica and the other British Island measures which has for many years occupied the blacks outnumber the whites in a twentythe attention of Congress, passed the House of fold ratio, and in the rural districts the dispar-Representatives on Monday by a vote of 115 it hat wan the regro, that in the twentyperson who is the head of a family, or who has five years of freedom, no violent outbreak has arrived at the age of 21 years, and is a citizen occurred. On this point the writer already

> peasantry. The people are no longer servile, though they retain, from habit, the servile epithet of 'Massa,' when a 'dressing the whites; but I have ever seen then most respectful to their superiors, and most anxious to oblige. Individual testimony on this point might be discredited or deemed insufficient, but there is so discrediting the fact that, since their freedom no people in the world have been more peace-ful than the creoles of Jamaica. With their freedom they seem to have forgotten all ancient grievances, and never to have entertained a thought of retribution. The contrast in this respect between the reign of freedom and the reign of slavery carries its own lesson and its own warning. Twenty-five years of freedom, and not a murmur of popular discontent!
> Twenty-five years of slavery—I take any period—and what fears and anxieties and actual to suppress the single insurrection of 1832, during which six million of dollars worth of private property were destroyed. But the outbreak from which the planters then suffered

> would have been light compared to the one that was ready to burst over the Island when liberty appeared in the gap, and proved its salvation." How completely does this statement refute the idle predictions of bloodshed and revolution, as the necessary consequences of emancination in this country! Here we have, in the slave States, two white men to one negro, and we hear men talk of the impossibility of emancipation. In the West Indies, where there are twenty negroes to one white man, emancipation has insured perfect peace and security for were ever known before.

as agrarians all who favor an equal division Of the safety of emancipation, the British West Indies afford a demonstration which at 1,359,277, whereas she has just published would satisfy a mathematician. On this point, the returns of a State census, taken last year, County (Pa.) Times, we learn that the kidnap at least, there is no room for doubt. The facts showing a population of 1,024,005! South ping of free negroes in that vicinity has become cited above, from the correspondent of the Carolina is put down at 1,002,760, which is at a frequent occurrence. The vile wretches avail Times, show that freedom has not made the least 200,000 too much. North Carolina at negroes disloyal to or jealous of the whites. 1,303,558; the census of the present year will against all Northern men, and against free peo- They readily and cheerfully defer to their fall below this amount by about 250,000. Tenformer masters, and the race to which they nessee is placed at 1,504,075, which is too gen-

adaptation to the climate, will, we have little tropical regions, so soon as it vindicates its capacity to govern and take care of itself. The increase in the number of small proprietors is

But it by no means follows that emancipathe thirty-fifth degree of latitude, in the propor. bler in the country.

THE EFFECT OF EMANCIPATION IN furnish the fitting permanent abode for the For once, the Herald has made a candid exhi-

If the Gulf States reject the idea of being made the recipients of the black race from the States north of them, our reply is, that they have no alternative. Whether slavery is abolished or otherwise, those States are destined to become the abode of millions of the African race, to the exclusion of any considerable number of whites. The proportion of whites is greater now than it will be at any future period. The census shows that the slaves are increasing in those States more rapidly than the white The white population, in parts of South Caro-lins, is on the decline. The census may probably show a similar result in parts of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

At any rate, if this tendency fails to exhibit itself this year, it will ten years hence, and thenceforward. For the black population salesg them. It cannot go northward. As a willing to accept their testimony in single mass, it must find its home in the South. The ness of heart; but they go for nothing with crop of slaves in the older slave States will Infidels and Pharisees, who will either deny still from year to year continue to be sent or offset the Golden Rule, and other teachings South, and the demand for labor in that quarter of Christ, with passages from the Old Testawill be too great to refuse it. There are now ment, whose literal purport is quite different. four millions of slaves in the South. In thirty When the advocates of slavery attempt to deand enslavement of all Mexico will still leave conclusive to offset them with the Golden Rule in the present Gulf States, at the end of that period, three times as many slaves as they now our correspondent; but when cited as an origi-possess. The continuance of slavery will rather all authirity against slavery, in an argument

But emancipation would, in a pecuniary point of view, work far better in this country than in the British West Indies. Our slaves. rom long association with white people, are as it existed in the whole period from Moses to far more civilized and intelligent than those of Christ. the West Indies, where few white people reside. Their civilization and intelligence is probably can cotton would insure good wages to the emancipated negroes, and these would incite few acres, and become independent farmers.

MR. DOUGLAS AND HIS FRIENDS. It is now manifest that Mr. Douglas stands o chance for the Charleston nomination. He may carry to the Convention a majority of the

delegates, but they will be from States which will vote the Republican ticket; and such delegates will never dare to impose a candidate upon the party whom the Southern Democracy for there were at least one hundred white slaves cordially hate. The organs of the party in the South were never so violent against Mr. Douglas as at the present moment. The intimation of a possibility that he may be nominated appears to exasperate, rather than to extinguish, the

bitterness of opposition to him.

It would be fatal to the Democracy to nom nate Mr. Douglas. There would be a general revolt in the South, and we doubt if an electoral ticket could be formed for him in the Gulf

It is due to candor to say that we think Mr Douglas has been badly used by his party. The hue and cry that is made about popular sovereignty, as if it were some new heresy, is most shameless. It was the recognised doctrine of Buchanan. General Cass first proclaimed it in the Nicholson letter, and the party endorsed it by nominating him at Baltimore for the Presidency. The same doctrine was reiterated in the platforms of the party in the Conventions of 1852 and 1856; and it was not abandoned until the Dred Scott decision was augural address.

It is true that Mr. Douglas then acquiesce and chimed in with his party in apostatizing from the faith; but he subsequently found that he could not retain his place in the Senate without going back to the original faith, which he has attempted to do in a way to please all sides. He now professes to believe in popular sovereignty and the Dred Scott decision, although the two theories are as antagonistic as Toryism and Radicalism. But, at any rate, he shows an accommodating spirit, and goes as far South as is compatible with maintaining any foothold in the North. The Southern Democracy are guilty of black ingratitude to Mr. Douglas.

THE CENSUS OF P

The New York Herald has put forth wild and ridiculous estimate of the popula prised to see extensively copied. According to the *Herald*, the population of the Union will be, in 1860, "in round numbers, thirty-five millions, and, in all probability, it may be more than that." Whatever result the census may show, it is quite evident, by referring to the detailed estimates of the Herald, that its editor, or whoever is responsible for the article in question, is utterly ignorant of the whole subject, and that he has jumped to his conclusions, without the slightest reference to well-known facts in the case.

As an illustration of the ignorance of the Herald, we will first cite his estimate for Illinois, which is put down at 1,362,352 in 1860. This amount is only twenty or thirty thousand greater than the actual State census of 1855. It is about 300,000 below the mark, if we only suppose that the increase of population has been half as fast since 1855 as it was from 1850 up to that period. Estimates of the population based on the popular vote show similar results Massachusetts is set down at 1,359,277, which twenty-five years, where no peace or security is at least 100,000 too much. New York at 4,043,914, which will prove to be at least 200,000 over the mark. Georgia is put down The overwhelming superiority of the black in 1850, contained 1,421,661, which that jourrace in the British West Indies, and their nal, by some unexplained process, increases to adaptation to the climate, will, we have little 2,132,491 in 1860! A State census taken last hoped that he will spend the rest of his days in a penitentiary. Kidnapping a freeman, and selling him into slavery, is a crime scarcely inferior in grade to murder, and should be vistion is eminently desirable. It is fitting and it may be have little doubt, in the course of time, secure them the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase from the white proprietors. This consummation is eminently desirable. It is fitting and it may be have little doubt, in the course of time, secure them the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase from the white proprietors. This consummation is eminently desirable. It is fitting and it may be have little doubt, in the course of time, secure them the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase from the white proprietors. This consummation is eminently desirable. It is fitting and it may be have little doubt, in the course of time, secure them the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase from the white proprietors. This consummation is eminently desirable. It is fitting and it may be adaptation to the climate, will, we have little doubt, in the course of time, secure them the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase from the white proprietors. This consummation is eminently desirable. It is fitting and it may be adaptation to the climate, will, we have little doubt, in the course of time, secure them the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase the following the proprietors are always and the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase the following the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purchase the peaceful possession of the land, by fair purcha proper that the negro race should inherit those 400,000 too high. Iowa is also a favorite, and of this rule laid down by Paul. Neither the receives a dower of 900,000 sons and daughters. law nor the practice of American slavery will The census takers will scarcely find 700,000 of

rapidly furnishing proof of capacity for civili-zation and freedom.

These evidences of the ignorance and inca-pacity of the Herald editor are sufficient to

It is lamentable to think that a journal which

bition of its incapacity to deal with a grave

WHY IS SLAVERY UNJUST?

We present an interesting and suggestive article upon this subject from a correspo which is well worth the reader's attention. goes to the bottom of the question, and undertakes to show how and why it is wrong to enslave a man. Is it not possible to state the argument against slavery or property in man in language so clear that no subtilty or subterfuge can evade it, any more than a mathematical truth can be disputed?

In such an argument, it will not do anything but indisputable facts and axiomatic principles for granted.

The scriptural argument is very good with those who believe the Scriptures, and are years the number will be eight millions, and in fend the system by quoting the Pentateuch and ixty years sixteen millions. The annexation | the passages from Paul's Epistles, it is then quite asure than postpone their permanent Africani- addressed to men who will dispute or distort them, they cannot be regarded as conclusive. It is to be remarked, that those who quote the Scriptures in favor of slavery must be held to all the conditions and limitations of slavery

1. In the first place, the slaves held by the Jews, in the time of Moses, were universally in exact ratio to their associations with white white men, of the same race to which the Jews men; and this is ten-fold greater here than in themselves belonged. The same was true of the British islands. The American negroes the slaves held by the Jews and other subjects would doubtless, like those of Jamaica, be of the Roman Empire in the times of Christ ambitious of acquiring little farms; but this and Paul. There might, now and then, have desire would be the best possible guaranty of been seen a black slave in those regions, but ndustry and sobriety. The high price of Amer- the great majority were as white as their masters. They were either the unfortunate poor who were sold into slavery for debt, or else them to labor, in order that they might buy a they were captives taken in war, and sold into slavery instead of being put to death.

These are facts in regard to the slaver which, it is claimed, has the sanction of Bible: and whoever undertakes to defend Afri can slavery, must at the same time insist that white slavery is at least equally justifiable. If there be any difference in the force of the Scripture argument for the enslavement of white and black men, it is against the former; to one black one in the countries and during the ages to which the Scriptures refer. This much at least is certain.

2. The Jewish law provided for a general jubilee, or act of universal emancipation, every fifty years. This was one of the conditions of the slavery or servitude which was established or regulated by the laws of Moses. Whoever appeals to Moses, therefore, as an authority for slavery, must accept this condition. That great lawgiver did not sanction perpetual slavery, but only slavery which might last fifty years Whoever quotes him in behalf of a system which has known no jubilee since its introduction into this country in 1607, is guilty of distorting and

3. Another law of Moses declared that only

heathens should be made slaves; that they should be taught the law and adopted into the national faith, after which they were to be free. This must also be an indispensable condition of any system of slavery for which the authority of Moses can be quoted. The slaveholders claim that they have Christianized their four millions of slaves. This is one great argument they urge in favor of the system. Grant it then, as good Christians and pious followers of the law, they are lound to set them all free. From 1607 to 1860 is 253 years. So their fifth jubilee would have occurred in 1857. If they have imported any heathens since that period, and converted them to Christianity, they are bound to set them free also; and thus, between these two Jewish regulations, there cannot at this time be more than a few hundred slaves in the South, lawfully held in slavery by the laws of Moses.

4. The laws of Moses provided, that if a slave lee from his master, and go to the house of any neighbor, the latter must not deliver him up, but suffer him to remain.

The Jewish law also provided, that certain cities should be "cities of refuge" for fugitive slaves, from which they could not be reclaimed by their masters. These, too, are conditions and qualifications which must be engrafted upon any system of slavery which relies on the authority of Moses. Paul gave it a practical illustration in the case of Onesimus, who fied from his master Philemon, and took refuge with the Apostle. What did Paul do? He did not seize the fugitive and send him back, claiming his reward, as the modern champions of slavery do. But Paul retained him, educated him, and at length sent him back, "not as a servant," "but as a brother beloved." How can any pious apologist of slavery insist upon a fugitive slave law, in the face of this teaching of Moses and practice of Paul? The fugitive slave law must be given up, or the Bible argunent for slavery must be abandoned.

5. Paul says that masters must give to their servants that which is "just and equal." know that these terms may be construed very differently; but they mean something. The sugar planters of Louisiana stated, in answer to questions from the Hon. R. J. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury, that they gave their slaves fifteen dollars worth of food and fifteen dollars worth of clothing; in all, thirty dollars per annum. This sum constitutes their wages. Similar statements were made by the cotton planters of South Carolina and other States. At the same time, the net profits per hand, on the labor of the slaves, was one hundred and fifty dollars to four hundred dollars. Allowing half this profit as due to the capital invested in land and machinery, there would still be seventyfive dollars to two hundred dollars produced by the toil and sweat of the slave, which his Christian master puts in his own pocket, conscious that thirty dollars, in coarse food and clothing, is all that the injunction of Paul, to be "just and equal," requires of him.

abide this test, in our humble judgment. For instance, the law recognises no such relation as marriage between slaves, and the practice is pacity of the *Herald* editor are sufficient to separate those who have voluntarily formed show his utter inability to discuss the subtion in this country would be followed by the same result. Here the preponderance is in favor of the whites in all the country north of the dullest cross-road politician or village scrib
but uses the intelligence and accuracy of the whites in all the country north of the dullest cross-road politician or village scrib
but uses the intelligence and accuracy of the dullest cross-road politician or village scrib
but we must not declaim. We therefore simply describe it as an act which would be high-handed if perpetrated upon free citizens; and adapted to the white man, and less suited to the black. The effect of general emancipation would therefore be to supersede negro labor in

ture can be quoted for or against it, but let it be tested by Paul's injunction to masters to be

"just and equal" to their servants.

Finally. If it be decided that it is "just and the fruits of his labor are worth five to ten times as much; if to deny to the slaves the legal relation of husband and wife, and to separate without cause such as form voluntary unions of love and fidelity, and tear from them their offspring, be consistent with justice and equality, then we ask, what acts could be characterized as unjust and unequal?

Thus much for the Scripture argument, which, as we have said, can only be good against such as appeal to Scripture, and defer to its an-

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE.

The Virginia Senate by a vote of 31 to 11, and the House of Delegates by a vote of to 42, adopted the following resolutions, refusing to appoint deputies to the Southern Disunion Conference :

" Resolved, That the present General Ass bly of Virginia, recognising in our present re-lations with non-slaveholding States an imperative necessity for decisive measures, does not yet distrust the capacity of the Southern States, by a wise and firm exercise of their reserved powers, to protect the rights and liberties of the people, and to preserve the Federal Union. For this purpose we earnestly desire the con-current action of the Southern States. But the General Assembly respectfully submit, for the General Assembly respectfully submit, for the consideration of South Carolina and Mis-sissippi, and all our sister States of the South, that efficient co-operation will be more safely had by such direct legislative action of the several States as may be necessary and proper, than through the agency of any assemb which can exercise no legislative power except

to debate and advise.

"Resolved, therefore, That in the opinion of the General Assembly it is inexpedient to appoint deputies to the Conference proposed by South Carolina and Mississippi.

" Resolved, That the Governor of this Con monwealth be requested to communicate the foregoing resolutions to the Governors of the States of South Carolina and Mississippi, and to the Governors of each of the other slave-holding States."

This Conference was a favorite project of Governor Wise's organ, the Enquirer, and that journal thought that the refusal of the State to accede to it would insure the inauguration of "Black Republican President" in 1861.

The Examiner, the organ of Senator Hunter was also in favor of the Southern disunion Conerence; but it seems that the people of Virginia are not to be entrapped into disunion projects by her fire-eating Presidential aspirants. Their once, and they find themselves, with their rival orces, united in a small minority. The Opposition party were unanimous, and the Democracy divided. The Western Democrats, together with some from the eastern slope of the Alleghanies, joined the Opposition in defeating this treasonable project.

The disunion Democratic politicians of Eastern Virginia overrated their influence when they expected to drag the western portion of the State, with its large non-slaveholding population, into their disunion projects; and this disgraceful failure will deter them from threatregarded as abandoned; and henceforth the ssues involved in the election of a President ence to the treasonable threats of a few dis- system of free labor, and jests over the "irreunionists. Their power of evil is gone.

UNWHOLESOME DIET. II the Charleston Convention shall in its wis dom nominate Mr. Douglas for the Presidency, a majority of Southern editors and politician will either be compelled to bolt the nomination or "eat their words." As a specimen of the regimen to which they will be subjected in the contingency supposed, we append the following bill of fare from the Memphis Avalanche: "The mean and damnable doctrine of squat

ter sovereignty has now but few advocates. A dogma that tolerates the absurdity of permitting dogma that tolerates the absurdity of permitting a few abolition vagabonds and thieves to exclude the property of the slave owner from territory won by the common blood and treasure of the nation, is so monstrous and revolting, that the American people are turning from it with unspeakable loathing and disgust. An ardent admiration for Stephen A. Douglas, and a confidence in his patriotism and statesmana confidence in his patriotism and statesman-ship, caused many to praise and glorify his name while he was holding to their unsuspicious lips the deadly poison distilled in a heart surcharged with all that is despicable. This misplaced confidence in Douglas, together with his spe-cious sophistry, induced many good men to look with forbearance on his absurd vagary. But now they consider it like the veil of the terrible now they consider it like the veil of the terrible Mokannah, bright and glittering and fascinating, but hiding beneath its treacherous folds the hideous features of a fiend. \* \* \* We have more respect for the robber who openly proclaims that plunder is his trade, than for the rogue who, under the garb of friendship, steals that which he pretends to be guarding and defending. Beelzebub before Judas for

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN STATES

The Richmond Enquirer insists with good reason that the Republican States of the North, which under no circumstances will cast a vote for the nominees of the Charleston Convention should not be permitted to manfacture platforms and designate candidates for the South ern Democracy to support. There is a good deal of justice in this demand. We are quite sure that the Republican States would not be willing to admit full delegations hailing from the Gulf States, where the utterance of Republican sentiments would doom the offender to the penitentiary or to the gallows. If in any Southern locality there is a decided Republican sentiment, or if there is an opposition or ganization in the South willing to co-operate with the Republicans, it is fair that they should be represented at Chicago. In like manner, where there is a Northern "Democratic" or ganization sufficient to carry a State in favor of the Charleston nominees, or even to make a good fight, they should be represented fully. But in States unmistakably Republican, we ber of gentlemen, representing the principal agree with the Enquirer, that they have no telegraph companies of the country, are in right to impose candidates and platforms upon | Washington, in consultation with the Governthe Southern party. The Richmond Enquirer illustrates this subject by the following striking to the Pacific coast. " lowa and Alabama. - To illustrate

necessity for a plain, unequivocal, unambigous platform at the Charleston Convention, we make the following extracts from the platforms of principles laid down by two States, Iowa and Alabama. The Iowa Democratic State Con-

vention adopted the following:

"'2. Resolved, That we cordially reaffirm
the platform heretofore adopted by the National Democratic Convention at Cincinnati in tice, and affording, when interpreted in accordance with the opinions of Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, and faithfully carried out, an amica ble solution of all the distracting troubles which have agitated our country in times past, and which now threaten to engulf it in disunion, evolution, and anarchy.'
"The Alabama Democratic State Convention

adopted the following:

"7. Resolved, further, That the Territorial
Legislutures, created by the legislation of Con-

are not aware that any single passage of Scrip- does not belong to the people of the Territories in any capacity, before, in the exercise of a lawful authority, they form a Constitution preparatory to admission as a State into the Union; and their action in the exercise of such a lawful Finally. If it be decided that it is "just and authority certainly cannot operate or take efect before their actual admission as a State

into the Union.'
"The Democracy of Iowa, in 1856, were 17,964 votes in the MINORITY, while the Democracy of Alabama were, in 1856, 18,187 in the

"The platform of the Iowa Democracy, adopted at Charleston, would lose Alabama, an not gain even Iowa."

CONGRESS-TUESDAY.

The Senate passed the bill for the reorganization of the Court of Claims. The bill makes the decisions of the court final.

The House passed a bill directing the Post master General, by public advertisement, to invite proposals for carrying the entire mails between the Atlantic and Pacific by one line.

The House, after some further proceedings, went into Committee of the Whole, and agreed to the consular and diplomatic bill; after which, Mr. Love, of Georgia, replied to Mr Van Wyck, and Mr. Kellogg, of Illinois, spoke in reference to alleged combinations between Messrs. Douglas of the Senate and Greeley of the Tribune.

At a meeting of the Republican Association

of this city, held on Wednesday evening, 7th instant, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

B. B. French, President. M. Buell, 1st Vice President.

J. J. Coombs. 2d Vice President. Lewis Clephane, Secretary.

D. R. Goodloe, Corresponding Secretary. William Blanchard, Treasurer.

C. D. Rickard, G. A. Hall, and A. Hunt, Di The following gentlemen were elected del gates to the Chicago Convention : B. B. French Lewis Clephane, G. A. Hall, and J. J. Coombs.

Alternates, James Lynch, Dr. D. Breed, James A. Wise, and A. Duvall. The meeting, we understand, was very spirit ed, and a number of applications were received

for membership.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

Under this title, the New York Express shows its preference of slavery to freedom, in the fol

"The way in which several thousand suffer ing laborers in Massachusetts and New Hamp thire are now assailing the bosses or 'capital by her fire-eating Presidential aspirants. Their versus the theory embodied in Senator Sewi vaulting ambition has overleaped itself" for ard's speech. The 'irrepressible conflict' under the new phase of labor versus capital i seen where Mr. Seward least expected to see it not in fact at the South, and in opposition to of conflict with the North, but in New England where the Republican party and Republican principles are in the greatest ascendency. 'Making shirts at 6 cents a piece and binding Conmen's meeting at Newburyport,) may well awa-ken a conflict between capitalists and labor; but the conflict happens to be just where Mr. Seward would least like to see it, and not at a time when, under new names and for new causes, he is getting up new enmities between one is one view of this subject which excite ening disunion, in the event of the election of general attention, and will more and more, the any eligible man to the Presidency by a con- oftener it is thought of; and that is the attempt to array class against class as well as section stitutional majority of the States or people. The great argument of danger to the Union, in the Express, and the Baltimore American, which has so often brought victory to the an old Whig journal, speaks of it thus in its

Here follows a rose-colored picture of slavery from the Baltimore American, which the Ex will be tried upon their merits, without refer- press fully endorses above. It sneers at the pressible conflict" between the capitalist and free labor. We append an extract from its proslavery confrere of Baltimore. The American

says:
"A more deliberate and wicked misnome for the Southern States was never coined in the brain of a merciless agitator than that of 'capital States.' It is an utter perversion of the facts. Slavery to capital does not and cannot exist in the presence of domestic slavery. The two are antipodal in every sense. How poor a capital-ist is he who is compelled by law to feed and clothe labor, to nurse it free of charge in sickness, and to cherish it in old age, when it has

long ceased to be productive!
"On the other hand, how rich is he who employs labor at the lowest rate, so long as it pays, and discharges it at once and forever without a thought or care what becomes of it the mo ment it ceases to remunerate! We will not dwell on this shameless tergiversation of Seward. Let the spectacle of the shomakers' strike in Lynn tell the true story. 'Capital States, indeed! The falsification is enormous, and ought to be harmless because of its very mon strosity. But the cry will be taken up by the demagogues of the Republican party, and echoed and re-echoed among the ignorant operatives, until it is implicitly believed and acted
upon. And it will not be Mr. Seward's fault, f henceforth the creed of the Northern laborer shall inculcate undying hostility to the 'cap-ital States' of the South as a religious obligation. Thus the 'irrepressible conflict' mus go on, negro or no negro. The wickedness of infusing this idea into the minds of uneducated millions, who hold political power by virtue of the republican institutions under which they live, is without a parallel in the history of enlightened Christians. lightened Christian statesmanship. We seri-ously fear that this 'conflict' will be urged by all the skill of Seward and all the violence of his myrmidons, and that nothing will arrest it but the general prevalence throughout the

are now witnessing in Massachusetts.' The Express, a Northern journal, is far more illiberal and pro-slavery than many Southern

oppositionists. MACAULAY ON SLAVERY .- The Hon. Charles Summer has furnished to the New York Tribunc an article of Macaulay's upon Slavery, which has never before been published in this country. The article was published in the January number of the Edinburgh Review for 1825, as a review of a then recent work of a Mr. Stephen on the condition of the West Indies. The paternity of the article would be promptly recog nised by any one familiar with Macaulay's imperial vigor and richness of style. It is not creditable to the American publishers of Macaulay's essays, that this important one, so peculiarly interesting to readers on this side of the Atlantic, has been omitted.

TELEGRAPH LINE TO THE PACIFIC.-A numment in reference to the construction of a line

The Republican State Convention of Ohio by a large majority, nominated Mr. Chase for the Presidency. There seems to be little opposition to him in Ohio.

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GEO. W. LIGHT,

They did not undertake to regulate the first of the heathens in he